

7/18/78 [1]

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

| FORM OF DOCUMENT | CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|------------------|--|--------------------|--------------|
| Memo | Dan Tate to Pres. Carter, w/attachments 4 pp., re: SALT <i>Opened 2/1/93</i> | 7/12/78 | A |
| Memo | Harold Brown to Pres. Carter, w/attachments 3 pp., re: Defense activities <i>OPENED 8/13/93</i> | 7/14/78 | A |

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers-Staff Offices, Office of the Staff Sec.-Presidential Handwriting File, 7/18/78 [No. 1] Box 95

RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

The Vice President
Hamilton Jordan
Zbig Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for your
information.

Rick Hutcheson

DEFENSE WEEKLY REPORT

~~SECRET~~ ATTACHMENT

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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20301

C
—

July 14, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Significant Actions, Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense
(July 8-14, 1978)

Soviet Navy in West Africa: Admiral Kidd, CINCLANT, in his most recent quarterly report to me, indicates that Soviet Navy presence off West Africa (in the area of the oil routes) has increased 100% since last June. The Navy now is studying the feasibility of an annual cruise to West African ports, similar to that conducted in February 1978.

Turkish Arms Embargo: Charles Duncan, the Service Chiefs and I talked with selected Members of the Senate this week on the Turkish arms embargo issue. Results of these calls are being reported to Frank Moore. In general, support seems to be building for our position--especially in the Senate--but the issue continues to be strongly influenced by domestic political forces, particularly in the House but in the Senate as well.

DoD Studies: The two Department of Defense organizational studies released this week received prominent press coverage, which focused on the role of the Joint Chiefs.

Defense Authorization Bill: On Tuesday the Senate passed the Defense Authorization Bill. The major difference between the Senate bill and the higher House Bill is the House's inclusion of a nuclear-powered cruiser at a cost in excess of \$1B. There are dozens of other differences between the two bills. The cruiser is expected to drop out in conference, which should start next week. There is some chance the nuclear carrier will not be funded in the appropriation bill if we can be effective in the full House committee.

Military Construction Bill: The Senate also passed the Military Construction Authorization Bill this week. The bill totaled just over \$4B--a reduction of \$250M from our request. The major cuts were in NATO construction, where the Senate cut \$375M. The House included these funds, so the matter will have to be settled in conference.

Harold Brown

Classified by SEC DEF
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF
EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652. EXEMPTION CATEGORY 1
DECLASSIFY ON 31Dec2008

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E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
PER 2/19/83 DOW H/RE MR-NLC-92-60
BY [Signature] NARS, DATE 7/21/83

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

Frank Moore

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson
STENNIS AND SALT

CONFIDENTIAL ATTACHMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/17/78

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE

For your information.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 12, 1978

to: The President

cc. 2:6:7
H.D.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK MOORE

FROM: DAN TATE *DT*
SUBJECT: STENNIS AND SALT

After the SALT/CTBT meeting today, Senator Stennis said that the President should not send a SALT or CTB treaty or agreement to the Senate this year because the climate is so bad. He says that even a treaty clearly advantageous to us and disadvantageous to the Soviet Union would be "destroyed." He urges a slow down even an outright stoppage of negotiations. ← *ok*

He asked me to pass this message along to the President. ← *no*

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DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4

EX-115192 NSC HY RE MR-116442-59
BY *Q* NARS, DATE 11-26-93

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Tuesday - July 18, 1978

12:00 Noon Lunch with Vice President Walter F. Mondale.
The Oval Office.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 18, 1978

Stu Eizenstat
Frank Moore
Phil Wise
Fran Voorde

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President --

Phil Wise has no comment.

--Rick

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

FR NK MOORE
STU EIZENSTAT

F.M.
Stu

We recommend that you sit down tomorrow (Wednesday) for about an hour with Secretary Blumenthal, Charles Schultze and us to discuss tax reform legislation. Stu's office has begun to prepare a background paper on various scenarios that we are facing.

Approve _____

✓

J

Disapprove _____

cc: Phil Wise

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 14, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HUGH CARTER

SUBJECT: Weekly Mail Report (Per Your Request)

Below are statistics on Presidential and First Family:

| <u>INCOMING</u> | <u>WEEK ENDING 7/7</u> | <u>WEEK ENDING 7/14</u> |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Presidential | 18,550 | 24,370 |
| First Lady | 1,235 | 1,535 |
| Amy | 200 | 195 |
| <u>Other First Family</u> | <u>55</u> | <u>50</u> |
| TOTAL | 20,040 | 26,150 |

BACKLOG

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| Presidential | 2,465 | 2,575 |
| First Lady | 215 | 165 |
| Amy | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Other</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |
| TOTAL | 2,680 | 2,740 |

DISTRIBUTION OF PRESIDENTIAL MAIL ANALYZED

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| Agency Referrals | 10% | 8% |
| WH Correspondence | 41% | 41% |
| Unanswerable Mail | 17% | 18% |
| White House Staff | 4% | 7% |
| <u>Other</u> | <u>28%</u> | <u>26%</u> |
| TOTAL | 100% | 100% |

NOT INCLUDED ABOVE

| | | |
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| Form Letters | 0 | 7,737 |
| Form Post Cards | 20,788 | 2,500 |
| Mail Addressed to White House Staff | 13,796 | 16,769 |

cc: Senior Staff

MAJOR ISSUES IN
CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL ADULT MAIL
Week Ending July 14, 1978

| ISSUES | PRO | CON | COMMENT ONLY | NUMBER LETTERS |
|--|-----|------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Support for United States Intervention on Behalf of Russian Dissidents (1) | 81% | 19% | 0 | 594 |
| Support for President's Position re: Capital Gains Tax | 3% | 97% | 0 | 371 |
| Support for President's Proposal to Increase Aid for Financing Higher Education | 21% | 79% | 0 | 268 |
| Support for Andrew Young's Statement re: Political Prisoners in the United States (2) | 0 | 100% | 0 | <u>155</u> |
| | | | TOTAL | 1,388 |

(1) SUPPORT FOR INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF DISSIDENTS (80% Pro)

Claiming that "human rights are at stake," writers urge the President to voice strong objection to the treatment of the Soviet dissidents.

(2) SUPPORT FOR ANDREW YOUNG'S STATEMENT (100% Con)

Writers protest, via Mailgrams and telegrams, Mr. Young's remarks, and demand his immediate removal, unless his allegations can be proved.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

7-18-78

To Peter Dourne

Chancellor Schmidt &
I decided that you should
go to Germany & meet
with medical & law en-
forcement officials re con-
trolling drug traffic.

While you're there, Dr.
Mildred Scheel (President's
wife) wants to see you re
cooperation on cancer
research.

J.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

Secretary Blumenthal

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Jim Gammill

NOMINATION FOR ALTERNATE US GOVERNOR
OF THE IMF

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THE "WHITE" HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/17/78

Mr. President:

No objection from
Gammill/Kraft.

Rick



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON 20220

ACTION

July 11, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nomination for Alternate U.S. Governor of
the International Monetary Fund

I recommend that you appoint Mr. G. William Miller as
Alternate U.S. Governor of the International Monetary Fund.
The Bretton Woods Agreement Act provides for an alternate
governor to be appointed by the President by and with the
advice and consent of the Senate. Traditionally, this
position has been filled by the Chairman of the Board of
Governors of the Federal Reserve System and was previously
held by Chairman Arthur F. Burns. I believe it is entirely
appropriate to continue to follow this pattern.

W. Michael Blumenthal

Approve: _____ ✓

Disapprove: _____

WASHINGTON

DATE: 12 JUL 78

FOR ACTION: TIM KRAFT

JIM GAMMILL *NC*

INFO ONLY:

SUBJECT: BLUMENTHAL MEMO RE NOMINATION FOR ALTERNATE US GOVERNOR
OF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

+++++
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: 1200 PM FRIDAY 14 JUL 78 +
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED:

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

Tim Kraft
Jim Gammill

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

SABINE RIVER COMPACT COMMISSION

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

TIM KRAFT *TK*
JIM GAMMILL *Jim G*

SUBJECT:

Sabine River Compact Commission

The Sabine River Compact was effective January 1953 between the states of Texas and Louisiana, and provides for a five member commission. The Federal member is appointed by the President and serves as ex-officio chairman without vote; this member serves at the pleasure of the President and must be a resident of a state other than Louisiana or Texas.

The current Federal representative has resigned. Secretary Andrus recommends Lamar E. Carroon of the U.S. Geological Survey.

RECOMMENDATION:

Approve Secretary Andrus' recommendation of Lamar E. Carroon to be the Federal member of the Sabine River Compact Commission.

☒ approve

☐ disapprove

J

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United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

In Reply Refer To:
EGS-MS404

FEB 10 1975

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

An Act of November 1, 1951 (Public Law 82-252; 65 Stat. 736), granted the consent of the Congress for the States of Texas and Louisiana to negotiate and enter into a compact for the Sabine River. The Compact, effective January 26, 1953, provides for equitable apportionment of the waters of the Sabine River and its tributaries. Article VII establishes a five-member Sabine River Compact Administration to carry out the terms of the Compact and provides that the United States Member is to be appointed by the President, is to be ex-officio chairman of the Compact Administration (without vote), and is to be a resident of a State other than Louisiana or Texas.

Mr. William H. Robinson, present United States Member, has requested that he be relieved of this responsibility as soon as a new appointee can be named.

The United States Geological Survey collects and analyzes much of the data used in determining the apportionment of waters and, therefore, has been asked to provide the Federal representative for a number of such compact commissions or administrations.

I recommend that Mr. Lamar E. Carroon of the Geological Survey be considered for appointment as the United States Member of the Sabine River Compact Administration.

Enclosed is a biographical sketch for Mr. Carroon.

Respectfully,

(Sgd) Cecil D. Andrus

SECRETARY

Enclosure

Biographical Sketch

Lamar E. Carroon

After receiving a B.S. degree in civil engineering from New Mexico State University, Lamar Carroon began his career with the U. S. Geological Survey in the New Mexico district office. As a hydraulic engineer, his duties included the collection and computation of streamflow records and the preparation of annual reports. In 1951, he transferred to Kentucky where his responsibilities were expanded to include indirect measurement of flood discharge, preparation of bridge-site reports, and compilation of surface-water records.

As Engineer-in-Charge of the Hydrologic Studies Unit in Albany, New York, Mr. Carroon supervised the making of indirect measurements, the operation of crest-stage gages, and the preparation of flood reports and statewide flood-frequency reports. In 1959, he transferred to Montgomery, Alabama, as District Engineer. Under his leadership, the district performed areal hydrology studies, flood-frequency determinations by indirect means, and studies of reservoir temperatures and hydrology of urban areas.

Mr. Carroon was reassigned to the Surface Water Branch staff in Denver, Colorado, in 1964 and shortly thereafter to the Rocky Mountain Regional staff. Throughout both assignments, he participated in a project to extend streamflow records in the Upper Colorado River Basin and performed other general staff and advisory duties.

As Chief of the Mississippi District of the Water Resources Division since 1968, Mr. Carroon has been responsible for managing the water-resources programs of the district.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 18, 1978

Tim Kraft
Jim Gammill

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handling.

Rick Hutcheson

NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

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disapprove

COMMENTS ON GEORGE IVES

Terrell Shrader, Braniff Airlines

"I have been in airline labor relations for more than twenty-five years and think George Ives is a real credit to his profession. He is dedicated, hard-working and fair. It would be a loss to the industry if his experience is not utilized for another term. I heartily endorse his reappointment."

Senator Charles Mathias (Republican - Maryland)

"During his nine years on the Board George has earned the confidence and respect of major labor and carrier organizations. He has remained a true neutral and worked to bring about settlements in the public interest."

Richard Ferris, President of United Airlines

"George Ives is a logical candidate for reappointment. Professional competence, mature judgment and integrity have characterized his service on the Board. It would be hard to replace him and I urge his reappointment."

Al Chesser, President, United Transportation Union

"His reappointment is very important to continuing the good work of the Board. He has seen the railroad industry through some of its most trying years and has contributed to one of the longest periods of industrial peace. Through all of this he has maintained the trust and confidence of both labor and management. We will appreciate his reappointment."

J. J. O'Donnell, President, Air Line Pilots Association

"George Ives has been a highly productive member of the NMB. He is dedicated, sensitive and aware of the long term ramifications of his actions. His continued presence on the Board would be beneficial to our industry as a whole."

GEORGE IVES
Washington, D.C.

PROFESSIONAL:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| 1969 - Present | Member, National Mediation Board, Appointed by President Nixon, Reappointed in 1972 and 1975 |
| 1959 - 1969 | Private Practice, Law and Labor Arbitration |
| 1953 - 1958 | Administrative Assistant to Senator Irving Ives |
| 1950 - 1953 | Associate Attorney, Simpson, Thatcher & Bartlett, New York City |
| 1949 - 1950 | Legal Assistant to Paul Heroy, Chairman, National Labor Relations Board |
| 1943 - 1946 | U.S. Navy Reserve |

EDUCATION:

| | |
|------|------------------------------------|
| 1949 | Cornell University Law School, LLB |
| 1943 | Dartmouth College, A.B. |

CIVIC ACTIVITIES:

National Academy of Arbitrators
American Arbitration Association
Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution
American Bar Association, New York State Bar Association,
District of Columbia Bar Association

PERSONAL:

White Male
Age 56
Republican

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

Tim Kraft
Jim Gammill

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Rick Hutcheson

POSTAL BOARD OF GOVERNORS

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| <input type="checkbox"/> | VANCE |

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1978

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

TIM KRAFT TH
JIM GAMMILL Jim G

SUBJECT:

Postal Board of Governors

The Postal Board of Governors was originally designed to direct and control expenditures and review the practices and policies of the Postal Service.

Over the past year, a substantial amount of White House staff time has been spent developing a comprehensive postal policy. The success of that policy depends heavily on the Board's ability and inclination to implement it.

There are three vacancies and all three can be filled with Democrats. We have surfaced six candidates that merit your consideration. From these six, we recommend that you choose three nominees who will bring to the Board knowledge of postal operations, support for your postal policy, and a high level of management and financial experience.

There are two candidates that Hamilton Jordan strongly recommends:

Bobby Allen, of North Carolina, is a successful businessman. In 1962 he became President of D. K. Allen and Son, a family owned and operated construction company employing 40 people. Today, under Allen's direction they have 500 employees, operate in five states, and gross over \$40 million annually. He is an active civic leader, and serves on the board of companies ranging from banks to insurance companies to publishing companies. He is well known to members of the staff and is most anxious to serve you in a meaningful capacity. He would be a good advocate of your policies.

Lee Kling, of Missouri, is currently serving as Special Assistant to Ambassador Robert Strauss. The postal contract will be an important part of the anti-inflation policy. It would probably not be appropriate to place him on the Board while he is on Strauss's staff, but that should only be for the next two months. He is a shrewd businessman and a good politician. He is well known on the Hill and would be an effective lobbyist for your postal legislation.

Congressional Liaison staff have surfaced two candidates in which they have expressed a strong interest.

George Camp, of Tennessee, is Regional Director of Consumer Services for the Postal Service in the Southern states. He has been with the Postal Service for twenty-two years serving in a variety of capacities including postmaster of Atlanta. Although he is knowledgeable about postal operations and enjoys the strong support of Senators Nunn and Talmadge, we have not seen any indication that he would make an outstanding contribution to the Board. The law precludes his serving on the Board while employed by the Postal Service. He has indicated a willingness to resign his position as Regional Director.

Jerome Farmer, of New York, has been strongly endorsed by Senator Moynihan. He is currently a management consultant for various public and privately held companies. He also serves on the boards of Wyly and Syntex Corporations. He is a CPA and was a senior partner in the international accounting firm of J. K. Lasser and Company. He has excellent credentials in personnel and financial management. He was Senator Moynihan's Deputy Campaign Chairman and was responsible for his finance committee. His views on specifics of postal policy are not as clearly defined as the other candidates included for your review.

Two other candidates that deserve serious consideration are:

William Sullivan is the Vice Chancellor of Administration at the University of Maine. During his twelve years in

- 3 -

the postal service he worked both in Washington and in the field. For three years he was Regional Postmaster for the thirteen-state Western Region. He left the postal service voluntarily in part because of disagreements with superiors over issues consistent with your policies of fiscal responsibility. He has testified before numerous Congressional Committees and Executive Branch studies on the postal system. He is a well known expert on postal affairs. He is on record as favoring elimination of Saturday service, reducing hidden federal subsidies, upgrading quality of postal management, reducing the overall postal workforce, and clarifying the relationship between the Board of Governors and the Postal Rate Commission.

Dennis Green recently left OMB to become Project Manager in the International Division at Ford Motor Company. He was Associate Director for Economics and Government at OMB and had primary responsibility for the project that developed the Administration's postal policy. Mr. Green also served as an audit manager for Arthur Andersen and Company and was Finance Director for Detroit. If selected, he would be the first black to serve as a Postal Governor.

We recommend you choose three nominees from these six names.

DECISION

Nominate three of the following candidates:

- ☒ Bobby Allen *Line up N.C. Cong. Support - Good business man/manager.*
- ☐ Lee Kling (Delay nomination until his project with Ambassador Strauss is completed.)
- ☒ George Camp *← Supporter of mine since 1966. Let Stu or someone question him re postal philosophy. Top man*
- ☐ Jerome Farmer
- ☒ William Sullivan *Expert J*
- ☐ Dennis Green

ALLEN

RICHARD "BOBBY" ALLEN
Hamlet, North Carolina

PROFESSIONAL

| | |
|--------------|---|
| 1962-Present | President D.R. Allen & Son, Inc. |
| 1958-1962 | Secretary/Treasurer D.R. Allen & Son, Inc. |
| 1953-1958 | D.R. Allen Construction Company |

EDUCATION

| | |
|------|--|
| 1953 | Virginia Polytechnic Institute BS Degree, Architectural Engineering |
|------|--|

CIVIC ACTIVITIES

| | |
|---------|--|
| 1965 | Board of Directors, First Union National Bank |
| 1967 | Board of Directors, First Citizens Bank and Trust |
| 1968 | Outstanding Young Men in America |
| 1973 | Incorporator, Cumberland Bank |
| 1973-75 | Firm listed as one of Top 400 construction firms |
| | Active in Methodist Church, Chamber of Commerce, Boy Scouts, numerous distinguished service awards |

PERSONAL

White Male
Age 47
Democrat

KLING

S. LEE KLING
St. Louis, Missouri

PROFESSIONAL:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 1976 - Present | Chair of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, First State Banc-shares |
| 1975 | Director of Reed Shaw Stenhouse, Ltd. |
| 1965 - 1975 | President of Insurance Consultants, Inc. |
| 1958 - 1965 | Vice-President, General Insurors, Inc. |
| 1950 - 1958 | Insurance Broker, General Insurors, Inc. |

EDUCATION:

| | |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1946 - 1950 | Washington University, St. Louis |
| 1942 - 1946 | New York Military Academy |

CIVIC ACTIVITIES:

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 1977 | Vice Chairman of Regional Commerce & Growth Association of St. Louis (Chamber of Commerce) |
| | Co-Chairman of the Democratic House and Senate Campaign Committee Annual Dinner |
| 1973 - 1977 | National Finance Chairman on the Democratic National Committee |
| | Executive Committee Member, Democratic National Committee |

PERSONAL:

White Male
Age 49
Democrat

CAMP

GEORGE W. CAMP
Atlanta, Georgia

PROFESSIONAL:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 1976 - Present | U.S. Postal Service, Southern Regional Director-Customer Services, Memphis, Tennessee |
| 1971 - 1976 | U.S. Postal Service, District Manager- Postmaster, Atlanta District |
| 1963 - 1971 | Postmaster, Atlanta, Georgia |
| 1962 - 1963 | Post Office Department, Acting Regional Accounting Officer, Atlanta Regional Office |
| 1958 - 1962 | Post Office Department, Chief, Data Processing Section, Atlanta Regional Office |
| 1957 - 1958 | Post Office Department, Tabulations Supervisor, Regional Accounting Office |

CIVIC ACTIVITIES AND AWARDS:

National Association of Postmasters of the United States,
Georgia Chapter, Member and Past President

Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, Board of Directors

Atlanta Association of Federal Executives

Certificate of Appreciation for Exceptional Performance,
United States Postal Service, 1972

Special Accomplishment Award, Post Office Department, 1970

Special Accomplishment Award, Post Office Department, 1963

Special Citation, National Postal Forum, April 1968

Special Citation, National Postal Forum, October 1968

PERSONAL:

White Male
Age 57
Democrat

FARMER

JEROME FARMER
New York, New York

PROFESSIONAL:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| 1977 - Present | Management Consultant |
| 1976 - 1977 | EXARG Corporation, New York, NY, President and Chief Executive Officer |
| 1974 - 1976 | American Recreation Group, Inc., New York, NY, Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer |
| 1970 - 1974 | Lasser, Robson, Rhodes and Dunwoody, New York, NY, Chairman, International Execu- tive Committee, International CPA Firm |
| 1946 - 1974 | J. K. Lasser & Company, CPA's, New York, NY, Senior Partner |
| 1950 - 1952 | U.S. Air Force, Office of the Auditor General, Major |
| 1946 - 1950 | U.S. Air Force Reserves |
| 1941 - 1946 | U.S. Army Air Forces, 14th U.S.A.A.F., China, Burma, India Theatre, Captain |
| 1939 - 1941 | Navy Department, New York Navy Yard, Brooklyn, NY, Senior Engineering Draftsman |
| 1937 - 1939 | Detecto Scale Company, Brooklyn, NY, Junior Engineering Draftsman |

EDUCATION:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 1951 - 1954 | New York University Graduate School, Business Administration |
| 1946 - 1950 | New York University, Business Administration |
| 1937 - 1941 | Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, Mechanical Engineering |

CIVIC ACTIVITIES:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| 1976 - 1977 | Moynihan for Senate Committee, Deputy Campaign Chairman-Finance |
| 1965 - 1975 | American Institute of CPA's |
| 1960 - Present | American Arbitration Association |
| 1953 - Present | New York State Society of CPA's |

PERSONAL:

White Male
Age 57
Democrat

SULLIVAN

WILLIAM J. SULLIVAN
Bangor, Maine

PROFESSIONAL:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 1976 - Present | Vice Chancellor for Administration, University of Maine, Bangor, Maine |
| 1973 - 1976 | Western Regional Postmaster General, U.S. Postal Service, San Bruno, California |
| 1971 - 1973 | Postmaster-District Manager, U.S. Postal Service, Cleveland, Ohio |
| 1968 - 1971 | Director of Planning, U.S. Postal Service, Washington, D.C. |
| 1967 - 1968 | Assistant Staff Director, President's Commission on Postal Organization, Washington, D.C. |
| 1964 - 1966 | Staff Assistant to Postmaster General, Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. |
| 1963 | Systems Engineer, Itek Corporation, Lexington, Massachusetts |
| 1952 - 1962 | Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., Series of technical and managerial positions in communications/electronics area |
| 1956 | U.S. Army, Ft. Bragg, North Carolina |

EDUCATION:

| | |
|-------------|---|
| 1966 - 1967 | Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University |
| 1962 - 1964 | Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, MBA with distinction |
| 1948 - 1952 | Stonehill College, North Easton, Massachusetts, B.A., English, magna cum laude |

CIVIC ACTIVITIES:

Trustee of Stonehill College - second term

PERSONAL:

White Male
Age 47
Democrat

GREEN

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DENNIS O. GREEN
Detroit, Michigan

PROFESSIONAL:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| 1978 - Present | Project Manager, International Division, Ford Motor Company |
| 1977 - 1978 | Associate Director for Economics and Government, O.M.B. |
| 1974 - 1976 | Finance Director, City of Detroit |
| 1971 - 1974 | Audit Manager, Arthur Andersen and Company, Detroit, Michigan |
| 1969 - 1971 | Wells and Green, P.C., CPA Firm, Detroit, Michigan |
| 1967 - 1969 | Arthur Andersen and Company, Accountant, Detroit, Michigan |
| 1963 - 1966 | General Motors Corporation, Senior Accounting Clerk, Detroit, Michigan |
| 1959 - 1963 | City of Detroit Housing Commission, Clerk |

EDUCATION:

| | |
|-------------|--|
| 1969 | Certified Public Accountant, State of Michigan, Certificate No. 5613 |
| 1960 - 1967 | Wayne State University, Bachelor of Science in Business Administration |
| 1959 - 1960 | Detroit Institute of Technology |

CIVIC ACTIVITIES AND AWARDS:

American Institute of Certified Public Accountants
Municipal Finance Officers Association of the
United States and Canada
National Association of Black Accountants, Detroit
Chapter, Vice President, Treasurer, President and
Founder
Michigan Chronicle Outstanding Citizen - 1976
National Association of Black Accountants Special
Recognition - 1976

PERSONAL:

Black Male
Age 38
Democrat

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

July 11, 1978

*Dear -
The Hughes
article is good.
Thanks
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR: Frank Moore
Assistant to the President
The White House

FROM: Douglas J. Bennet, Jr. *B*

I know how little time the President has for bed-time reading, but the attached article by Tom Hughes on contradictions in foreign policy might give him some reassuring perspective.

In answer to Les Aspin last night, the President once again brilliantly outlined the foreign policy objectives we are pursuing -- human rights, SALT, security, etc. -- and then asserted that he found no "incompatibility" among these laudable and necessary goals. Tom Hughes argues that there are in fact incompatibilities or contradictions, that these are not our fault, but historical realities, and that we should think in terms of managing these contradictions rather than denying them.

This article is something I really would like to get into the President's hands unless you disagree.

Attachment a/s

P.S. Also attached is a piece by Julius Duscha which bears on the same point.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

Douglas Bennet

The attached was returned in the President's
outbox today and is forwarded to you for
your information.

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

Jody Powell
Jerry Rafshoon

The attached was returned in the President's
outbox today and is forwarded to you for
your information.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Frank Moore

release date:
Sunday, June 18

cc Jody
Jerry
J

Hughes

CARTER AND THE MANAGEMENT OF CONTRADICTIONS

by Thomas L. Hughes

The Carter administration is creating, colliding with, and being victimized by contradictions. The management of these contradictions is the central task of foreign policy, but their acknowledgment is still off limits to president, press, and public alike. Indeed, the notion of contradictions is arguably the critical missing element in American political culture—in presidential thinking, decision-making, and policy presentation; in press, congressional, and academic criticism; and in public perceptions as well.

Contradictions are the opposition of incompatible factors inherent in, or bearing upon, a given situation. They can be built into the basic logic of things, they can be latent and rise to the surface, they can be traceable to the convergence of certain persons and events, they can be accidental and arrive unexpectedly, or they can be deliberately introduced as a matter of policy. Even those contradictions that are inevitable may often be manipulable. If managed well, contradictions may work for an administration or a policy. If poorly managed, they may undermine them.

If alertness to contradictions were a regular, operational ingredient in official thinking about foreign policy, it would have positive and practical consequences. If the press and other institutions of criticism embraced more of this perspective, instead of demanding a spurious consistency, it would constructively sharpen the real issues.

For an increasingly frenetic society, the

THOMAS L. HUGHES, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is a former assistant secretary of state and minister at the U.S. Embassy in London.

34.

awareness of contradictions in the political process could be a safety valve, a necessary psychological underpinning for a move away from linear demands to serious accommodations. This might moderate the special interest run-away and promote fairer judgments in a more reasonable atmosphere.

For the president, such awareness could help counter accusations that his act is ambivalent and indecisive. It would be a helpful way of weighing priorities and sharing burdens, while focusing needed attention on the processes of politics and policy. The fact is that contradictions exert deep, pervasive, and persistent pressures on—and are the objects of—the presidential conduct of foreign policy, regardless of whether the press, the public, or the president himself realizes it.

If such a stimulus to positive good sense is available, why does it remain unapplied in public life? Because American political culture rejects the idea of contradictions as unspeakably un-American. Unfortunately, we are now in a new political era in which all will lose by this rejection—especially the president in his ability to conduct foreign policy. For the essence of foreign policy is the management of contradictions.¹ Foreign policies can fit that description and work. Or they can defy that description and fail. The Carter administration should be asking itself, deeply and regularly: How should the inevitable contradictions be considered, decided, and presented? Without such a focus, the dynamics can easily swerve out of control and take on a life of their own. Surrogate issues from Zaire to Cuba confront the administration with the contradiction of saving détente while resuming the cold war. At stake is the government's ability to define a strategy and to persist in carrying it out.

Unscarred by assassinations, wars, and presidential scandal, the Carter administra-

¹ See Thomas L. Hughes, "On the Causes of Our Discontents," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1969, p. 653; see also Stanley Hoffmann, "The Hell of Good Intentions," *FOREIGN POLICY* 29 (Winter 1977-78).

35.

tion is still the first in 18 years that has a chance of uniting the country, pursuing policies that are deliberately conceived and broadly sustained. The president himself is uncommonly talented. His roots are deep in the people and the countryside. Many of his appointments are outstanding. He has brought a freshness of outlook and an enthusiasm of style to a wide variety of problems.

Yet adverse trends are emerging. Many of them are the tactically disquieting consequences of strategically hopeful initiatives. The administration's admirable goals and intentions are being sacrificed to its obtuseness about political dynamics.

The tactics necessary for success on a secondary issue can produce defeat on a primary one. Thus the cost of the administration's victory on the Middle East arms package will ultimately include the fragmentation and bitterness it engendered in the president's own party. Moreover, the accompanying cold war atmospherics abetted by administration spokesmen on Capitol Hill, will inexorably come back to undermine the administration on SALT.

As always, language, truth, and logic are connected. Carter's semantics have tended to reinforce the historic American myth that there are no incompatibilities or contradictions in public life, and to perpetuate the old American view that all good things are simultaneously possible. His sense of conscious ambiguity is hard to discern, and contradictions continue to be reconciled by avoidance or denial, or else unconsciously displayed. This fortifies the ill-starred politics of pushing ahead indiscriminately on all fronts.

A Cultural Revolution

The paradox is a dramatic one, since some of the contradictions have been volitionally sharpened by new foreign policies. Carter should, in fact, be given high marks for exposing and grappling with some long neglected contradictions in world politics.

First, he has greatly extended the per-

missible area of foreign policy debate and of serious policy options. He has enhanced the American appeal abroad by reviving the liberal, egalitarian, populist, and humanitarian elements in the American tradition. They are now back on the foreign policy agenda. Carter is responding to some of the real contradictions that his immediate predecessors—practitioners of realpolitik—ignored.

Second, instead of the counterrevolutionary impulses from Nixon's and Ford's America, Carter has tried to relate domestic to international change. His identification with the poor, the black, and the dispossessed has strengthened American credibility. This has helped restore the basically appealing—and contradictory—American hold on the world's affections, the appeal of our unresolved democratic contest, our ongoing event in which the world has a stake. Carter is defining the American national interest in ways that are interesting to others once more.

Third, Carter is seeking and finding wider constituencies abroad. He has tried to move the United States across certain international Great Divides. He is opting for the broader coalitions, a longer outreach. He is trying to put the country on the right side of history in places like southern Africa where, by neglect or preference, past administrations have displayed their instinct for the losers. Carter has tried to jettison some lost causes and, in the process, to erode the artificial anti-American world majority that has organized itself cumulatively around highly vulnerable symbolic issues. The purpose of these new foreign policy moves has been to expand U.S. influence in the world by helping to pluralize the politics of others and dissolve blocs in the Second, Third, and Fourth Worlds—to create more contradictions for them, and fewer for us.

Fourth, Carter has engaged in the riskiest and most admirable of all policies: anticipatory, precrisis diplomacy. In Panama, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and on the Palestinian

issue, he has tried to innovate, albeit with mixed success, to arrest deterioration in advance of predictable conflict. This is very hard to do. Even where anticipatory policies fail, the side gamble is that life should be easier with the governments after the next.

Together these developments add up to a Cultural Revolution in foreign policy. But public awareness of, and support for, these Carter innovations is low. There has been no steady educational effort to explain and claim credit for them. The process has, paradoxically, exposed many contradictions previously hidden, and the public, seeing them for the first time, tends to blame the president.

Carter should be presenting these new realities more effectively to the American people. By any calculation, the costs of the administration's recent foreign policy show-downs on the Panama Canal and the Middle East arms sales were excessive in terms of time, energy, and political capital. By now it is clear that neither the Pentacostal Presidency, nor the Commencement Day View of Society, nor the Politics of Amazing Grace, is sufficient to cope with the historical contradictions facing the Carter era. Somehow the Carter administration needs to be born again, this time to an awareness of contradictions and their manipulation.

Consider some of the more basic contradictions Carter faces, rather than the better worn theme of his own transient ones. Looking at the former rather than the latter helps frame the issues in a different way, forcing attention on the possibility that issues are now being framed one way by history and another way by the Oval Office. The appropriate speculation ranges across the no man's land between political theory and foreign policy.

The Europeanization of America

In the intellectual history of political ideas, the notion of contradictions is rather basic. From Bismarck and Disraeli on the right to Marx and Lenin on the left, the

existence of contradictions—their inevitability and their interaction—was fundamental. Hegel, feeding both traditions, built the dynamic of his whole dialectical theory of history upon his notions of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis—that is, on the clash of contradictions.

But it is a new convergence for America, this administration of Carter and this Age of Contradictions. The most open and optimistic of Americans, Jimmy Carter came to office at a time when the United States was having its first deep experience of historical self-doubt. The decade of disillusionment from 1965-1975 has, in fact, left us with our first national sense of tragedy. In psychological terms, we have begun to experience the Europeanization of America—a permeating sense of limits, constraints, in some quarters even fatalism, hitherto un-American themes, except ironically in the American South.

The result is that Carter's America is uncharacteristically tired. Its tiredness is born of recent important failures, of a decline of confidence, of a growth of pessimism, of large-scale value shifts, of a counterrevolution of descending expectations.

Against that background, contradictions rise to the surface of politics, to be experienced even if not acknowledged.

There is the contradiction between absolutists and relativists—the tension that comes up in innumerable foreign policy situations from containment to development to human rights to disarmament. Absolutists see universal requirements and applications, court disillusionment when their reach exceeds their grasp, and cringe from making exceptions. They are in eternal contention with the relativists, who regularly settle for mixes, optimal or suboptimal. Absolutists often convert to cynicism or retrenchment when they fall short of their goals. Relativists, by contrast, often have to live with dull or uneasy consciences.

There is also the contradiction between polarization and conciliation as basic polit-

ical tendencies inside individuals and within societies. In places as diverse as the Arab world, southern Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Puerto Rico, for example, polarizers and antipolarizers are hard at work. From a foreign policy perspective, the world's politicians can be divided between those who spend their time polarizing and those who try to moderate or brake the flight to the extremes.

The fact that the Carter administration on the whole is dedicated to antipolarizing positions in one after another polarizing situation around the world is a proposition of profound importance. It has considerable bearing on the administration's self-image and the degree to which it will be able to move toward its professed objective of replacing realpolitik with world order politics. Often in the past, the internal polarization of a society has been arrested or

"Who is polarizing, who is not, and why?"

smoothed over by polarizing the whole society against another one on the outside, especially in times of crisis. In this way it has been possible to be both polarizer and antipolarizer at the same time. Who is polarizing, who is not, and why? These are important questions to be asked by and about policy-makers inside the White House, inside the departments, inside Congress, and outside in the world. When polarizers are in the saddle, booted and spurred and ready to ride, suitable contradictions can always be found to accommodate them.

Many face the contradiction of how far and how fast to unlearn recent lessons. For example, a central verdict from Vietnam was once thought to be the collapse of an overly ambitious globalism. The United States could not be the world's policeman, and it had no right to intervene in places of secondary and tertiary importance thousands of miles from home. We are now wit-

nessing in many quarters of opinion a re-emergent globalism. Americans are being told that in order to keep open the sea lanes to Israel and Japan, they have a strategic stake after all in Angola, Zaire, Djibouti, Somalia, southern Africa, and the Indian Ocean. If so, what has happened to the recent conventional wisdom about priorities and selective commitments?

Contradictions are rampant among alternative images of other people's politics. Frequently decisions amount to choices among these images, and decision-makers at the top are often conditioned bureaucratically by information which has been distorted on its way to them. The pluralization of world politics is connected to that process, for leaders increasingly want to know more about the stresses and strains in other societies. Everyone is fascinated with everyone else's politics. At least occasionally in this process, inconsequential things are done in one part of the world which are perceived as consequential elsewhere and therefore become so.

Amid these other tendencies, substantive contradictions also take shape. The interlocking contradictions in the Middle East are obvious: a long-term commitment to Israel, a stake in the moderate Arab regimes, the tensions within the contesting societies, support for the Sadat initiative, access to Arab oil, worry over Soviet ambitions, how to combine Palestinian self-determination with secure boundaries for Israel—where ultimately to partition Palestine itself, the twice-promised land.

Other contradictions are less dramatic. Thus the prospects for a successful nuclear nonproliferation policy involve differing estimates of the possibilities of influence, the costs to other goals, the amount of diplomatic capital expendable, the dangers of reaching uneven outcomes. Nonproliferation cannot be reduced to simple bilateral issues of incentives and disincentives between the United States and a nuclear-prone nth country. Usually there will be a diabolical set of interlocking pressures.

A nonproliferation policy toward Korea, for example, must take its place alongside other contentious U.S.-Korean issues: troop withdrawal, congressional corruption, the aid program, human rights, and Japanese sensitivities, for starters. With Korea, as with other potential nth countries like Taiwan, South Africa, and Pakistan, the United States might normally prefer to reduce its involvements and increase its distance from them, but the cost in tradeoffs and new commitments necessary to dissuade them from nuclear proliferation can easily be to embroil us with each of them further. This is a prototypical high policy contradiction: the United States may want to revise downward, not upward, its relations with precisely those countries of greatest proliferation concern.

Or take European integration, long an objective of American policy, now slowly stirring toward the first direct elections for the European Parliament next year. From opening day, the administration took on major combinations of European economic interests in its nonproliferation, arms sales, and South Africa policies, and in each case it has had to retreat when faced with the size of the reaction. At the same time, the administration, like its predecessors, has generally tried to encourage Europe to take a greater share of responsibility for tough decisions, a sentiment that lay at the heart of the bungled effort to involve the Germans publicly in the neutron bomb decision.

European leaders are already more assertive on several issues, and may become more so as the new political arrangements take shape. But are Americans prepared psychologically for the contradictions that will arise if and when the Europeans really assert themselves? The issues all spell more trouble for Washington: disagreements on the shape and doctrine of European defense forces, on the nature and thrust of European economic decision-making, on Eurocommunism, on the Middle East, on southern Africa—potentially sharper conflicts with

Europe as a whole than already exist with particular European capitals on each of these issues. The contradictions are predictable. How will Washington plan for them? How will it like the consequences of its basic policy line?

Other contradictions underlie the simultaneously held objectives of democracy, development, and détente. Their aggregation has been at the heart of the standard American foreign policy of the last two decades. Today their disaggregation is at the heart of many foreign policy frustrations.² There is nothing final about these trends. But they set in motion contradictory tendencies deep enough to require management, not just haphazard projection of competing policies.

There is an even more fundamental contradiction at work along what might be called the fault line of foreign policy. In the geology of world politics, two contradictory alignments of issues regularly show up on opposite sides of that fault line: the security issues and the equality issues. The United States gave preference to the security issues in recent years, but learned to its embarrassment that security was not enough. By contrast, the Carter administration understands the lingua franca of politics revolving around the equality issues. It understands that here in the rich and therefore unequal West, we must burn deeply into our consciousness the profound proposition that security has meaning only for those who have something to preserve. The devotion of the world's three billion egalitarians, whoever and wherever they are and however inconsistent they may be, runs to equality, not security. They are linked in an anti-American stance by mutual perceptions of inequality.

This dichotomy between security and equality confronts the administration with choices on a rich variety of foreign policy issues. Indeed the big issues in Carter's Wash-

² See Thomas L. Hughes, "Liberals, Populists, and Foreign Policy," *FOREIGN POLICY* 20 (Fall 1975), p. 110.

ington are bound to be fought out along this fault line in unusually intense ways: hard line v. soft line; Pat Moynihan v. Andy Young; Carter the businessman v. Carter the Sunday School teacher; anticommunism v. accommodation; American capitalism v. the New International Economic Order; the tough-minded v. the tender-hearted; the embattled West v. the rest.

This perspective makes the Carter administration's 18-month default on China policy all the more anomalous—a curious lesson in the contradictions of omission and displacement. China is one issue that bridges the contradictions between security and equality. A China policy would, therefore, have helped the United States cross the fault line. To be seen to be associated with the People's Republic in a variety of ways, however limited, could be constructive in both the security and the equality contexts.

"The administration by now may well have 'lost China' again. . . ."

One would have expected, therefore, that China policy would have been given very high priority in January 1977. Instead, amid all the other activity, it has been the one area of embarrassed inaction. An administration willing to take on everything else—from Vietnam to Cuba, Korea to Brazil, Somalia to Cyprus—is only now belatedly beginning to stir on China. This time with too little, too late, instead of too little, too soon. Instead of a positive move to engage the U.S.-Sino-Soviet contradictions constructively, the administration by now may well have "lost China" again—this time to secondary domestic contradictions which its own earlier priorities set in motion. Instead of taking an executive initiative on China policy in its opening days, the administration undertook symbiotic policies setting contradictions in motion which are consolidating congressional opposition. The unhappy dynamic consequences were

predictable; they were in fact predicted. The links among the lobbies on Capitol Hill, connecting those who have been disaffected by administration initiatives elsewhere on Panama, Rhodesia, South Africa, Israel, and Korea, will come home to rest on Taiwan and serve the cause of immobilism. Status quo for China policy has become the residuary legatee of accumulated resentments and careless priorities.

The inaugural message itself might have appropriately contained the new chief executive's pronouncement that all existing governments worldwide, including the People's Republic, were now recognized. A press spokesman could have announced the administration's position that consequently the defense agreement with Taiwan had legally lapsed, although peace in the area and friendship for the people of Taiwan remained important U.S. interests. Congressional fallout, and whatever legislative adjustments were considered necessary, could have been absorbed in the euphoria of the walk down Pennsylvania Avenue. Instead, the administration now has to face Senator Goldwater's new legal doctrine that the de ratification of treaties needs a two-thirds Senate vote, and that in any event an attempt to set aside the defense pact with Taiwan would be an impeachable offense. The non-handling of China policy for 18 months, and the preference given to troublesome policy nonstarters like Korea and Vietnam with their own negative reverberations on China, add up to a miscalculation of contradictions and dynamics across the board. On any serious cost-benefit analysis, the administration's decision to put China on the bottom of its priorities list was as regrettable as its decision to put Panama at the top.

A part of the administration now wants a China policy, but it may be too late to have it. Resentments from previous less important priorities will consolidate opposition to it on the right. The SALTists and détenteists, already worried about relations with Moscow, will oppose it on the left.

And one of the major policy options open to the Carter administration when it came to office will have been forfeited.

From the above examples alone, it is clear that many of the contradictions currently let loose in the world introduce bizarre strains among the hundred flowers blooming in the greenhouse of the Carter administration. There are incompatibilities among liberal goals, tradeoffs among priorities, and the political reality that so often the right has the heat, the money, and the simplicity. Moreover, if the balances underlying the status quo are upset too fast in too many fields all at once, such destabilization is bound to undermine "confidence," and be generally unsettling to those who would rather be left undisturbed.

Such substantive foreign policy contradictions seem fated to haunt most of the significant decisions the Carter administration will have to make. They bedevil nearly every initiative the administration has undertaken or may wish to undertake. While the explosive potential of these contradictions cannot be pinned on the president, he must try to minimize the fall-out.

The Collapse of Deference

To make matters worse, certain societal contradictions beset the America over which Jimmy Carter presides. They, too, complicate foreign policy dilemmas more seriously than ever before.

The American republic still emits the most powerful cultural radiations of any society on earth, but the American legend is in decline. Its historic components, despite the brief remission of the bicentennial, no longer have the pulling power they once had: the Mayflower, the Star of Empire, Manifest Destiny, the Promised Land, God's Country, the Rough Riders. When those sentiments still hold sway, they often enlist on the reactionary side of issues, as in the Panama Canal uproar.

The centralizing impulses which served to increase American cohesiveness under the

New Deal, World War II, and the postwar consensus years, have reversed course. Deference to Washington and the White House was dashed by Vietnam and Watergate. No president can any longer expect to be given the benefit of the doubt. Fallibilities are now taken for granted. Esteem is gone. Whistle blowing, participatory democracy, push, shove, and irreconcilability, atomization, irredentism, localism and separatism, issue overload, the growth of ethnicity, special interest assertiveness, the switch toward small is beautiful—all these trends have combined over recent years to multiply the number of subnational political bases.

Meanwhile, at the supranational level, the forces pushing toward interdependence continue the fundamental erosion of the old nation-state system, requiring new supranational arrangements that are apparently beyond our political capacity to achieve. Hence the contradictions above and below the national level eat away at national authority just when the abuse of national authority has already prompted its own decline.

The result is a weakness at the center of national affairs, where the president sits. He finds himself squeezed between large-scale subnational and supranational forces, caught in the middle of an important new political culture, bereft of the positive tools his predecessors had, and buffeted by the collapse of deference.

Of course, there is an affirmative side to a society that can tolerate such strains and still work. American contradictions are more attractive to others than their own: ours are not class-ridden or culture-bound. American pluralism appeals to societies that lack it. The undecided American contests exert gravitational pulls on the rest of the world.

But the interplay of these forces, subnationally and supranationally, sets up new transnational contradictions that afflict Washington. Competing power groups holding different interests and values cut across, intersect, and converge in new forms of politics, including the privatization of foreign

policy, which may bypass the U.S. government entirely.

A profound foreign policy effect emerges from this larger set of contradictions: the decline of the nation-state in the West, compared with the growth of national authority in the South and the East. In neither the developing world nor the Communist world has national authority been undermined on the scale it has in the Western democracies. The results are asymmetrical. What is more, the Communist capitals, where capitalist contradictions are both predicted and encouraged, watch any fulfillment of their prophecies with their own *Schadenfreude*, taking special pleasure in their opponent's discomfort. Moscow and Havana currently must see the playing out of such contradictions in the West as paving the way for their own free ride in Africa: adventures which may seem relatively riskless for them and boundlessly frustrating for us.

The situation on the legislative front in Washington is also striking. There is a new congressional culture promoting new executive-congressional conflict. Not only is Congress up when the presidency is down in the normal American constitutional checks-and-balances seesaw, but several hundred congressmen and their staffs are individually representative of the new assertiveness. This helps assure that the executive-congressional relationship in no way resembles the heyday of Kissingerian-type virtuosity downtown accompanied by passive majority adulation on the Hill.

Congressmen are no longer comfortable with their assigned foreign policy roles. It is unclear who is actor and who is audience. Congressmen are tired of being manipulated; they dislike being balanced, traded off, and linked away. They reject being the objects rather than the subjects of policy. It is harder and harder for the executive branch to use the Congress beneficially in negotiations. The turnoff of the manipulated on Capitol Hill has become another foreign policy contradiction for the president. What

the left hand giveth, the right hand taketh away. In a very real sense, the better Congress is, the worse it is.

Meanwhile, both on Capitol Hill and in the executive branch, the not-so-peaceful coexistence of competitive foreign policies continues. Some of the warring factions are obvious; others are hidden and occasionally surprising. Wherever they are, they engage in their own cold war and detentist relationships with the rival foreign policy factions that coexist inside the two branches.

"In a very real sense, the better Congress is, the worse it is."

These groups and their networks on the fringes of government spend more time worrying about one another than they do about the Kremlin. They constitute a new layer of bureaucratic politics and become a part of the daily foreign policy struggle at the threshold of the Oval Office.

The contradictions at work among the multiple players also play across the problem of the multiple audiences. In an era of instant skepticism and instantaneous communication, the hazards of any leader saying anything significant multiply. Policy-makers cannot separate or adjust their messages. This is more than the problem of shifting a stance from campaigning to governing. Viewed from abroad, American foreign policy often looks like American politics. From home, it often looks like the foreign policy of others, not ourselves.

The Panama fiasco-success has also illuminated another disturbing aspect of contemporary American life: the discouraging proof that consciousness raising, on even the most basic and long-lasting foreign policy issue, must more or less begin all over again when needed. After all, the Panama question has been with the American public for generations. Four administrations have negotiated the issue since the Canal Zone riots of the mid-1960s. Yet the quality of pub-

lic awareness of the basics of the issue turned out to be pathetically poor.

The Panama story is an embarrassing demonstration before the world of how little Americans have learned, or really care, about the sensitivities of other peoples to a persistent foreign policy problem. Other long-standing issues like China-Taiwan, about which Americans have been polled for more than a generation, show the same persistent lack of grasp of fundamentals. (Such polls regularly disclose clear majorities of the American people for recognizing Peking and for maintaining the defense treaty with Taiwan, oblivious to the contradiction.) The lack of accumulated insight over the years from the media, the history classes, and the nongovernmental organizations serves as a warning. The failure of these instruments of national education to build even the most rudimentary understanding of basic foreign policy problems is a worrisome commentary on the fragility of public support for the simplest advance.

All these trends come together in a unique way for Carter, a Democratic president, representing all the people, leader of the majority party, balancing many more interests than Republican presidents have to do. They intensify the democratic handicaps: foreign policy as a handicap for democracy, and democracy as a handicap for foreign policy.

The Presidential Predicament

Unfortunately for Jimmy Carter, he cannot pick his time and place in history. He just happens to be president in this new American Age of Contradictions. This is one reason he is president. Yet as president, he is being tested by a totally new democratic situation. Sometimes it must seem like the Presidency by Ordeal. Indeed, even a brief recitation of some of the contradictions facing him should create some empathy for the presidential predicament. Carter is alone in the sense that nobody else in the country is engaged with contradictions the

way he is engaged with them. There are no models. Previous Democratic presidents, for example, were president before we really became democratic. Stronger winds are blowing against the American presidency in Carter's day than in theirs. And yet the president himself still seems to find the notion of contradictions hopelessly hard to handle. Contradiction is still a dirty word in the political culture.

One reason for this persisting phenomenon is the superficiality of the Great Simplifiers in the press, who posit the norm of consistency and thereby add to the democratic burden. Far from educating the public about the nature of complexity and the inevitability of contradictions, the test of a mythical presidential coherence is perpetuated by newsmen. Story after story is written around an alleged departure from an unattainable consistency. Politicians who fall short of this hypothetical consistency are the constant subjects of hostile exposés. The press dwells on contradictions in administration policy as though they are proof of perfidy, weakness, and confusion. Some of this criticism is merited. Much of it is not.

The bigger, more accurate picture is quite different. In foreign policy, as in democratic politics, if one large-scale policy is coherent, it is usually and often necessarily the case that other policies are incoherent. Not everything good is reconcilable or to be achieved simultaneously. Politically, the test of successful leadership is to arrange for the trade-offs and hence for the inconsistencies, taking care that the political burden of contradictions is shifted if possible to others and not taken upon oneself in a form of political self-flagellation.

Ironically, Carter and his critical press are jointly engaged in perpetuating the public myth that inconsistencies are avoidable, and that presidents who seem inconsistent or wavering or complicated are justly taken to task. Carter should stop acting as though historic contradictions are someone's fault. He is the one who loses the most under that

false assumption. Contradictions are what life—especially foreign policy life—is all about.

The president should make a public virtue of the fact that he is the only integrator left to preside over the totality of contradictions of contemporary American life and foreign policy. He should cease his own complicity in the myth-making about the reconcilability of everything. He should stop creating the irresponsible impression that he agrees with his critics that contradictions are somehow proof of amateurism. He should, instead, start standing for the highly educative proposition that one of the chief virtues of late-twentieth-century American democracy is that it is mature, that it therefore glories in its contradictions, that the purpose of politics is to ventilate them, and that their management is where the action is and where the presidential effort lies.

Carter is unusually intelligent. He is extraordinarily hard-working. He tries to master subjects. The problem is that that is not exactly what we pay our presidents to do. We pay them, instead, to manage contradictions. If Carter cannot make some inroads on taking the curse off the notion of contradictions, he will continue to be unfairly accused and convicted in the public mind of creating or allowing all the contradictions to happen. He will be swept up by, and ultimately overridden by, the very contradictions he is being asked to manage.

"In 1978 we have maximum democracy and minimum Machiavelli."

The last relatively successful attempt to manage some of them was Kissinger's. But his method of dealing with contradictions was to keep them hidden, often disguising or pretending them out of existence by brilliant ex post facto conceptualizations. He enjoyed all the Grand Inquisitor's advantages of miracle, mystery, and authority. His

unique abilities were put to use in a unique situation amplified by his secrecy, pretense, wit, verbal dexterity, cajolery, guile, and marvelous sense of theater. But the tradeoffs that a Kissinger can put together behind the scenes, as explained by a one-man author and finisher, are quite a different matter from the democratic public tradeoffs which an open government and an open administration must engage in. Philosophically and politically opposed to secrecy, pledged to openness, Carter has set himself an enormous, but admirable, challenge. The foreign policy contradictions which were stifled by the personalism of the Kissinger administration are now being ventilated by the pluralism of the Carter administration. The contrast in temperament and situation is now complete: in 1978 we have maximum democracy and minimum Machiavelli.

Moreover, the compensatory uses of foreign policy as a distraction from domestic problems—so congenial to Nixon and Kissinger—may also have less appeal. Carter may be the first president to learn that foreign policy no longer provides relief from domestic intractability. He may even be the first president to find that foreign policy is bad news, that it can damage him politically. The exotica of foreign travel can double-cross an American president these days. Because of his growing interest in foreign policy at a time when it remains low on the list of American public concerns, Carter risks becoming even more of a foil for his critics. There is another potential contradiction here, one between the ruling interests of the president and the ruling interests of the public.

The president would therefore be well advised to consider conscious choices among contradictions: distinguishing between the necessary and the unnecessary ones, the avoidable and the unavoidable ones, the postponable and the unpostponable ones, the primary and the secondary ones. He will want to recognize that the new openness assures that others will try to manage him

—others from his official family and the bureaucracies, from the lobbies and the Congress, and from abroad. To the degree that his posture remains one of surprise and impressionability, he will appear the more manageable and he will increasingly become an object for management by others. Here is a place where his fabled commitment to reorganization ought to be of help. The management of contradictions as he sees them should be the purpose of reorganization, its basic theme.

In one sense, Carter is the best possible potential manager of contradictions because he has such a constructive capacity for contradictions himself. Indeed, he is an excellent walking embodiment of the effective management of contradictions. It is rare to have a make-up that is part evangelist and part engineer. This has given him nearly total spectrum appeal. This is at once Carter's greatest personal strength, his greatest executive weakness, and his chief political asset.

Can he learn to handle this Age of Contradictions, this new American political happening? He can try to minimize it, deny it, avoid it, circumvent it, exorcise it, or wish it away. He has been trying. But most of the contradictions can neither be excised by engineering nor exorcised by evangelism. Ironically, some of the old politics will have to be called in to help rescue the new.

"The Liberal Hour does not have to be the Amateur Hour."

Thinking in terms of contradictions and how to make them work constructively should reduce the administration's currently exorbitant price-earnings ratio. In recent months, much has been expended for very little achieved. With the best will in the world, the administration has been creating the impression of going about hither and yon doing good things in an ill-assorted way at tremendous political cost. Nobody

in particular is to blame. The system, the times, and the culture are all involved. But the administration needs to get a grip on the management of contradictions. Above all, the public needs confidence that there is a firm, not a wavering, hand at the helm. If it cannot know the mystery of the president's secret guiding purpose, it must have the conviction that he has one.

The Carter administration can fail. Too many good policies colliding with too many other good policies can produce bad policies. This would be a double tragedy, precisely because most of the goals are right. A reactionary America would emerge like a phoenix from the ashes of liberal chaos. But that need not happen. The Liberal Hour does not have to be the Amateur Hour. The administration's foreign policy failures to date are not the result of an excess of liberalism. They are failures of the central organizing forces of the administration.

In world affairs and in the life of twentieth-century democracies, contradictions are inevitable. They are therefore not to be apologized for, nor are they a source of shame. To allow them to emerge publicly as personal or policy inconsistencies is bad management. Not to claim credit for grappling with contradictions better than anyone else can grapple with them is poor politics.

Once it comes to grips with contradictions, the administration will be seen to be serious. And lo and behold, the president will attract the sympathy and support he deserves for taking on awesome tasks. In that process lies greater respect for presidential competence, greater freedom for presidential action, and even the possible re-emergence of widely supported national priorities.

Inconsistency in Perspective

BALTIMORE SUN, JULY 6

Washington.

FEUDS between federal officials and inconsistencies in presidential statements are the stuff of so much of Washington journalism.

The current feud being fed by Washington reporters is of course between Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski,

By Julius Duscha

the assistant to the President for national security affairs. In the cold-war rhetoric that still dominates so much Washington reporting of international issues, Mr. Vance is soft on the Russians and Mr. Brzezinski is the hard-liner.

Meanwhile, on the inconsistency front so well beloved by Washington correspondents, heads are still shaking over President Carter's foreign-policy speech last month to the graduating class at the Naval Academy. Was it a hard or soft speech? Was he really being tough with those implacable Soviets? Well, there were some hard and some soft phrases, and maybe the whole thing was too ambiguous.

Sure, there are differences between Mr. Vance and Mr. Brzezinski, but no two men dealing in the world of foreign policy are likely to agree on everything. And a reader often gets the feeling that this feud story, like so many others before it, is frequently exaggerated and hyped to try to sustain interest in it. After all, feud pieces are easier to write and are better read than articles on the complicated details of arms-control negotia-

tions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As to inconsistencies in presidential statements, Washington correspondents seem to forget that the greatest presidents have usually been the most inconsistent. Look at the records of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson or Theodore Roosevelt and you will find inconsistency piled on inconsistency.

The essence of presidencies and indeed of most politics is compromise, and with compromise must necessarily come inconsistency. Yet each time a president says something that does not agree with a campaign speech, or issues a statement which in itself contains contradictions, reporters gleefully pounce on it.

One of Franklin D. Roosevelt's favorite phrases when confronted with diametrically opposite points of view within his administration was to "weave the two of them together." He even suggested such artful weaving when he was given two speech drafts early in his first administration in 1933—one taking the country's monetary system off the gold standard and the other keeping it on.

John F. Kennedy made a widely heralded and still remembered foreign-policy speech just 15 years ago at American University in Washington which was considered his definitive statement on U.S.-Soviet relations; yet, as a State Department official who recently re-read it has noted, the speech could be just as faulted for inconsistencies as Mr. Carter's Naval Academy address.

I remember once covering Lyndon B. Johnson when he was vice president and riding back from Texas with him in what I guess was Air Force

Two. He was having drinks with a few reporters and talking about a big issue of the time. I think it was foreign-aid legislation. There were fierce arguments over the legislation on Capitol Hill and elsewhere, and it seemed to a lot of people that they could never be reconciled. But Johnson was not too concerned. "There is always a middle ground," Johnson said, "we'll work it out." And he helped to get a compromise, of course.

As for feuds in Washington today, they are nothing like they used to be. Mr. Vance and Mr. Brzezinski feuding? Who has heard either say a cross personal word in public about the other? In the 1930s when there were real feuds in Washington, Harry Hopkins, who ran the Works Progress Administration public-works program, and his arch-rival, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who headed another public-works program called the Public Works Administration, chewed each other out regularly at press conferences, and enjoyed it all even more than the reporters who scribbled down their every utterance.

A feud may make for a bit of intriguing reading and an inconsistency may or may not be of importance, but as a reader I wish my journalistic colleagues would put a little more historical perspective into their accountings of the latest feud or inconsistency and remind their audiences that these things are really the stuff of public life and often are not nearly so important as they may seem to the reporter.

Mr. Duscha, a frequent contributor to this page, is director of the Washington Journalism Center.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

To Ambassador Sol Linowitz

Thanks for sending the pamphlet from the National Committee for International Development. Your thoughts and suggestions are important to me.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Sol M. Linowitz
One Farragut Square South
Washington, D.C. 20006

*ps. I've forwarded the
material to Warren Christopher -
help him -*

J. C.

SOL M. LINOWITZ

ONE FARRAGUT SQUARE SOUTH
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

July 10, 1978

Dear Mr. President:

The difficulties encountered by the foreign assistance program in Congress lead me to suggest that the private sector -- especially the business community -- might well want to lend a helpful hand.

Fourteen years ago a committee of business and other leaders was formed to lobby and obtain public support for the foreign aid program, which was then in considerable trouble. The attached pamphlet describes the Committee and its efforts. President Johnson felt that the assistance of the group was highly valuable in obtaining support for the program.

Perhaps this kind of an effort could be mounted again today.

Sincerely,



Sol M. Linowitz

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

cc: all to
W. Christopher - Try
to mount a
similar effort
J.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

STU EIZENSTAT *h b larp*

SUBJECT:

Drop-by Meeting with
"Longest Walk"
Indian Representatives.

Representatives of the Indian groups have walked across the nation to dramatize their opposition to legislation which would eliminate their treaty and aboriginal rights. They are meeting with the Vice President and you will be dropping by to meet them.

TALKING POINTS:

- . I want to welcome you here and express my admiration for the courage and hardship expressed by your "Longest Walk".
- . The federal government has a special trust responsibility to Indian people which I personally want to assure you we believe in. We reject the ill-advised policy of termination.
- . A central part of our relationship is the importance of self-determination for Indian people in cultural, religious, economic development and other affairs. I am particularly pleased that the House of Representatives is taking action today on legislation to assure your ability to exercise religious freedom.
- . We as an Administration want to work with you to uphold your rights and to work out fairly the sometimes difficult conflicts which arise between Indians and non-Indians.
- . My Administration remains open to you and grateful for your efforts to communicate with us and the entire nation.

We recommend that you not take questions in that the Vice President and Secretary Andrus are present to discuss issues in detail. However, should you take questions, we recommend you avoid:

- . Indicating a parallel between the Indians' human rights situation and abuses in the Soviet Union, Africa and elsewhere in the world.
- . Making an unequivocal commitment that in all cases Indian claims will automatically take precedence over other considerations or that we as trustee will always agree with the Indians' definition of what that trusteeship responsibility is.

NOTE: The Indian group may be presenting to the Vice President a proclamation "documenting" abuse of the human rights of native Americans. Hopefully, your drop-by will take place after the proclamation is presented. If by some chance you are presented with the proclamation, we recommend that you accept it and say that you will ask the Secretary of Interior, the Attorney General, and others to review it but avoid promising a formal response. A formal response might present unnecessary difficulties both domestically and internationally.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

This is Wendell Ford's first "public" bill to be signed into law. (He had a couple of private bills.) You may want to add a P.S. noting and congratulating him on that fact. Dan Tate

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1978

To Senator Wendell Ford

I thought that you would like to have the enclosed pen commemorative of the signing of S. 2401 which establishes home insulation safety standards.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

The Honorable Wendell Ford
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

*p.s. Congratulations on the
passage of this important
public bill.*

J

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 18, 1978

Jim Gammill
Tim Kraft

The attached was returned in the President's
outbox today and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

BOARD FOR INTERNATIONAL FOOD AND AGRICULTURE
DEVELOPMENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 17, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

TIM KRAFT *TK*

JIM GAMMILL *JG*

SUBJECT:

Board for International Food and
Agriculture Development

The Board for International Food and Agriculture Development reviews and evaluates research grants for studies in the areas of food, nutrition and agriculture conducted primarily by Land Grant Universities.

There is presently one vacancy on this seven member board. Five members presently serving are representatives of the academic community. After talking with staff members from the Agency for International Development, with which BIFAD is affiliated, we conclude that the University interests are well represented and that a public member would best serve the present needs of the Board.

We recommend David Garst from Coon Rapids, Iowa. Garst has a degree in economics, food research, and agricultural policy from Stanford University. He farms 15,000 acres in western Iowa. He and his wife were instrumental in the research development of livestock feed and they have been active in bringing innovative farming practices to both their community in Iowa and in foreign countries such as Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

RECOMMENDATION:

Appoint David Garst to be a member of the Board for International Food and Agriculture Development.

✓ approve

 disapprove

J

50801

AGE: 50. Born September 10, 1926--the same year that Henry Wallace harvested the first hybrid seed corn ever sold.

HERITAGE of GARST FAMILY: All Garsts are descendants of Theodore Garst who came to America about 1750. Subsequent generations settled in Virginia or moved west. My grandfather, Edward Garst, fought in the Civil War and became a pioneer citizen of Coon Rapids. He opened the first store in the town in 1869. The store is still owned by the family.

Edward Garst's brothers also had interesting histories. My great uncles--Perry Garst became an Admiral in the Navy; Charles Garst, his brother, was a Christian missionary in Japan; Dr. Julius Garst, their brother, invented pheno caffeine which was the best pain killer preceding the aspirin; and Warren Garst, their brother, became the Governor of Iowa.

My father, Roswell Garst, as an associate of Henry Wallace founded the Garst and Thomas Hybrid Seed Corn Company in 1930 and became one of the most important pioneers in agriculture. Last February he was featured on the front cover of Farm Journal as "The Farmer Salesman Who Changed Agriculture".

Roswell Garst promoted not only seed corn but also was one of the earliest promoters of mechanization (1930), fertilizer (1941), grain drying (1945), and the feeding of celluloses with synthetic protein in 1948.

Roswell Garst was also effective in spreading American agricultural technology abroad. He successfully introduced hybrid seed corn to the Iron Curtain countries in 1955 and became an important pioneer in opening trade and improving political relations with Communist block countries. This culminated with the visit of Nikita Khrushchev to the Garst Farm in 1959. Roswell Garst has continued to make contributions to agriculture in many fields since that time.

Roswell's brother, Jonathan Garst, also was an important agriculturalist in government service. During the Depression he was the western regional director of the USDA's activities. During the Second World War he did work in Brazil, Alaska, and Malaysia rounding up rubber and strategic minerals.

During the Korean War he was appointed as special assistant Secretary of Agriculture by Charles Brannan to increase production of nitrogen. He did this by declaring nitrogen production a strategic material so that new production plants could get a fast tax write-off. By the end of that administration he had increased nitrogen production from one million to two and one-half million tons. Then he went back to California to run the farm and seed corn business he had started there earlier in his career.

Jonathan Garst was an inventor too. To my knowledge he made the first corn combine by welding a corn picker on the front end of a grain combine in 1947. He patented the method of using a rubber whip to separate plant parts now widely used in the beet topping industry and also a method of making anhydrous ammonia into aqua ammonia. The last years of his life were spent writing a book called No Need For Hunger and experimenting to make protein out of the juices of green succulent plants.

EDUCATION: I was educated in the Coon Rapids High School. After the eleventh grade I took early admission to Stanford University where I completed a year of college before being drafted by the Army. Returning from the Army in 1947 I again entered Stanford University, subsequently transferred to Iowa State University and back again and graduated from Stanford in 1950 with a major in economics, food research, and agricultural policy.

FAMILY: While I was attending Stanford University, I married Georgeanne Orenstein (Jo) who was a doctor's daughter born and raised in Hilo, Hawaii. She too graduated from Stanford with a major in political science where she was a classmate with Frank Church and Mark Hatfield.

We have three children. Sam Garst, my oldest child, and his wife, Chris, both work for Congressman Tom Harkin. She runs Tom's office and Sam is his administrative assistant primarily concerned with agricultural affairs. My two younger children are both still furthering their education.

BUSINESS ACCOMPLISHMENTS: In the spring of 1940 my brother (15), sister (17), and I (13) were legally given economic emancipation by our parents. Simultaneously, Roswell Garst sold us his entire farm operation and took an unsecured note for the assets. This farm is called the Garst Company. Thus, I have been actively engaged in farming for the last 36 years. While my brother and I were in school or the Army, we hired a manager to run the farm operation, but worked with him when time permitted and made the major decisions.

In 1941 the Garst Company started a fertilizer business to serve the community. During the war years the Garst Company took advantage of the price ceiling on corn and floor on hogs. Between 1941 and 1944 we farrowed 75 sows twice a year and produced annually 1,500 pigs (all in confinement). In 1944 the Garst Company also bought a substantial interest in the Garst and Thomas Hybrid Corn Company.

During the war years from 1941 to 1945 our farm operation expanded from about 700 to about 3,700 acres (all rented land) as farmers were drafted. After the war it shrunk back to about 2,400 acres as these same farmers returned.

In 1945 the Garst Company built, I believe, the first grain dryer in the country with which to dry our crops. In 1948 the Garst Company did basic research in feeding. We were the first people to use urea for all the protein supplement in the ration and cellulose (ground corncobs) for practically all of the carbohydrate. Subsequently, our research was confirmed by Cornell University and the use of urea has grown until today. Although urea can only be used as a protein for ruminants, it now represents more than one-fifth of all the protein supplement--including soybean meal, cotton cake, fish meal, tankage, etc.--now used in the United States.

Upon returning from college in 1950, I took direct charge of the Garst Company farm operation. In 1950 we built the first commercial plant to manufacture synthetic protein for ruminants from molasses urea and began to greatly expand our commercial fertilizer business. In the early 50's we also started to commercially warehouse grain for the farmers in the community, and bought control of the Iowa Savings Bank from our partner in the seed business.

Our farming and cattle feeding operations also expanded dramatically. Land was cheap and readily available and profits from using our earlier research with ground cobs and urea paid well.

In 1951 my brother, Stephen Garst, also returned from college and the responsibilities of the growing operation were split to compliment this growth. Then in 1955 when Roswell Garst was selling seed corn to the Communist countries, the Garst Company was selling them machinery, crop dryers, seed corn processing plants, cattle, and other items necessary for their agricultural progress.

In the spring of 1956 my wife and I spent nearly two months in Rumania helping to put the machinery together and showing the Rumanians how it worked. In 1953 I again returned to Rumania and on the same trip visited Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria in search of business. The United States had not had diplomatic relations with Bulgaria since the late 1940's. I was, in fact, the first person representing American business interests to get a validated passport to Bulgaria after diplomatic relations had been severed about ten years earlier. Because of this trip I invited a small delegation from Bulgaria to visit the United States to inspect the things we wish to sell and partly through my efforts, the United States' diplomatic relations with Bulgaria were reestablished. I again visited Rumania and Hungary in 1965 to inspect the progress they had made.

With the discovery of male sterile and male restoring lines, hybrid grain sorghums became a reality in the mid 50's. Garst and Thomas began producing hybrid grain sorghums in 1956 and I left the Garst Company farm operation in the hands of my brother so I could develop a sales organization in the sorghum belt that winter. I have been actively employed by the seed corn company ever since.

In 1955 Garst and Thomas sold 400,000 bags of corn. By 1960 Garst and Thomas was selling 500,000 bags of corn and 75,000 bags of grain sorghum. By 1970 Garst and Thomas was selling more than a million bags of corn and about 200,000 bags of grain sorghum and sales have continued to increase.

In 1955 there were approximately 300,000 potential customers in the area we served. Our company had approximately 100,000 customers that were served by approximately 1,000 salesmen that were supervised by 16 District Sales Managers that were led by my father. He had no assistance or staff people in the sales department of the company to help with the exception of a secretary.

Since 1955 the number of potential customers in the area has dropped as farmers have sold out and left the land. Today we have approximately 150,000 potential customers and approximately half of them plant the seed we sell. These 70,000 customers are served by 1,400 salesmen who are supervised by 31 District Sales Managers. All of whom I have hired. I am now helped in this task by an assistant Sales Manager and two additional staff people. I have been in full charge of the sales department since 1963 when Roswell Garst had a laryngectomy.

For nearly 20 years I have personally written our seed corn catalogue, looked after our advertising efforts, supervised the personnel in the sales department, and through a series of meetings each year have personally visited with all 1,400 salesmen. I have also had an opportunity to meet and know literally thousands of farmers through our open house activities here at Coon Rapids and field days and corn clinics throughout the area we serve. I suspect I am known by 20% of the farmers in the area we serve.

When we got in the grain sorghum business in the late 50's, there was practically no corn and little irrigation in western Kansas. I personally helped to set up the sales organization in this area and subsequently contributed to its progress in corn production. Now more than half of all the corn in Kansas is planted on the irrigated lands in the western part of the state. The average yield on this

area is the highest in the nation in excess of 120 bushels per acre. Irrigation and commercial cattle feeding have dramatically increased. Fertilization, insect and weed control, irrigation techniques, combine harvest and crop drying or high moisture storage are well developed; so are new methods of tillage and planting.

In the early 1960's one of my District Sales Managers with my financial support and encouragement developed and patented the method of planting any seed in a V-slice. We call the apparatus the Acra-Plant shoe which is a play on accurate planting. I also have a patent associated with this apparatus.

Although we were both very busy selling seed corn, we were successful in manufacturing and selling the Acra-Plant shoe. It is currently adapted to more than 90 different makes and models of seed planters. Acra-plant shoes or imitations of Acra-Plant shoes sold by major farm machinery suppliers now plant more than 1/3 of all the row crops in the United States and Acra-Plant, Inc. now has a factory and foundry in Garden City, Kansas. This plant can be distinguished because it is the largest user of chrome in the agricultural machinery industry.

In summary I am an agriculturalist. I am half owner of the Garst Company. It farms 15,000 acres. 6,000 of this is crop land, 6,000 is pasture, and 3,000 is heavily wooded timber land. It is also heavily involved in cattle breeding with over 4,000 cows and one of the finest production tested herds of exotic cattle in the United States. Major breeds consist of Simmental, Limousin, Maine-Anjou, Gelbvieh, and Flekvieh cattle. All are artificially inseminated. For the last three years our adjusted 205 day weaning weight has averaged 570 pounds per calf.

I am also heavily involved in the farm service industries. As the Sales Manager of Garst and Thomas, I sell 7% of all the seed corn and over 10% of all the grain sorghum seed planted in the United States. Additional farmers throughout the United States also use the Acra-Plant shoe which I helped to invent, manufacture, and distribute. In our local community through various companies with which I am associated, we supply banking and insurance services, crop drying and storage facilities, and sell fertilizers and chemicals of all types and synthetic proteins of our own manufacture. There is no reason except one to leave the thriving businesses with which I am presently involved.

GOVERNMENT: I have known personally every Secretary of Agriculture except Hardin since Henry Wallace. The one I most admired was Charlie Brannan. I have been a student of agricultural policy throughout the period and I have not been impressed with it either under Republican or Democratic administration. By contrast, I am impressed by the direction Jimmy Carter took in his recent successful political campaign.

I have always thought we needed some sympathetic people to agriculture in the White House, so I was an early worker in the Carter campaign strongly promoting Carter's candidacy starting in October, then as a contributor in December, then as a fund raiser in February, and then gave advice on agricultural policy to his issues staff after the Democratic convention.

At the convention I decided that everyone should devote part of his life to government service and that working for the Carter administration would be exciting and a good way to make a contribution to humanity. It seems to me I am well qualified to play an important role in the Department of Agriculture.

APPLICATIONS: (1) I am from the right region. The fifth district in western Iowa is the eighth most rural and agricultural district in the United States. The states surrounding Iowa in the Midwest produce 75% of our entire volume of exports. Politically many of these states did not support Carter in his recent campaign. It seems to me that it would be good sense to make appointments from this area to unite the country.

(2) I know farmers and the farm service industries. I have been a member of the American Seed Trade Association since I joined the Garst and Thomas Hybrid Seed Corn Company. I have been a member of the National Agricultural Marketing Association since 1967. It was only founded a year or two before. Garst and Thomas was also one of the founding members of the United States Feed Grain Council in 1959 and I am one of the directors. It is an important arm of the USDA and FAS in promoting the sale of agricultural products abroad.

(3) I have experience in international trade. Also many friends in foreign lands. Not many Iowa farmers can say that they personally know more than five Secretaries of Agriculture of foreign states or that they knew two of them long before they each became the Secretaries of Agriculture of their countries. I taught Jose Perez who is now the Secretary of Agriculture of Brazil how to feed his cattle molasses urea more than 15 years ago. I have known Nichol Josan since 1956 when I was in Rumania helping them with corn production.

(4) I also believe that I would have an excellent working relationship with Congress. Hubert Humphrey has been a friend of the family since he was the Mayor of Minneapolis. I also have an excellent relationship with Dick Clark and John Culver who are our State Senators from Iowa. In the House my son works for Tom Harkin who represents our district. My wife was the chairman of his finance campaign when he first won his seat. In addition I have met, known, and admired Bob Bergland and Tom Foley who are on the House Agriculture Committee with him.

(5) I also believe I could work well with President Carter. I agree almost completely with his political philosophies. I have worked hard for his election and would like to make an additional contribution to his administration. My accomplishments show that I am reasonably intelligent, competent, and articulate and my ability as a salesman might prove invaluable if and when it becomes necessary to take programs to the people.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

FRANK MOORE *F.M.*
LES FRANCIS
TERRY STRAUB

SUBJECT:

Update on Civil Service Reform in both
Houses of Congress

Senate

We anticipate floor action within the next two weeks and are working with Committee staff to draft necessary amendments, mostly technical, to the bill that will be offered on the floor. The question of whether to try to restore the deleted Veterans' Preference section with a floor amendment is being discussed with Senators Percy, Ribicoff, Muskie, and others. Sentiment among members is divided on this, with Administration people leaning toward offering a floor amendment rather than waiting until the Conference Committee to attempt the restoration. Additionally, we are initiating one-to-one contacts with several influential non-Committee Senators over the next few days to brief them on the bill. Lastly, Senator Ribicoff has inferred that he will seek appointment of himself as well as Senators Percy, Javits, Muskie, and Sasser to the Conference Committee.

House

We continue to struggle with the Post Office and Civil Service Committee in our attempt to move them to report our bill out of Committee. The Committee has treated all but the last Title (Labor/Management) as of this writing. They are scheduled to take up this section tomorrow (Wednesday) and clean up any unfinished business on other Titles. We have asked Rep. Udall to refrain from a final vote on the bill until we can review the finished print

to see if we need to make further adjustments in the bill before it goes to the floor.

Among those items to consider are:

1. Hatch Act Reform - As you know, the Hatch Act reform bill was successfully attached to our bill by Rep. Clay last week in an attempt to leverage some Senate action on Hatch Act reform. This attachment unquestionably does violence to the Civil Service bill by risking a total stampede of Republicans, both on the Committee and on the floor, to the side of the opposition.
2. Spellman Amendment - Rep. Spellman successfully added an amendment to make the Senior Executive Service a "demonstration" project, thereby doing considerable harm to that Title (IV) of the bill.

Strategy options include the following:

1. Seek a rule from the Rules Committee which would knock out the Hatch Act on a point of order on the floor.
2. Just prior to the final Committee vote, substitute a new bill, minus Hatch and the Spellman amendment, for final Committee passage.
3. Allow the bill to pass out of the Committee as is, and try to remove both of these provisions on the floor.

Each of these tactics has its pluses and minuses in terms of who will be alienated and who will support them. One of the more sensitive issues underlying these considerations is the feeling among a few Committee Democrats that we are too closely allied with the Committee Republicans on many parts of the bill. We will try to make a final strategy decision within the next forty-eight hours after consultation with Rep. Udall, the Speaker, and others but not until the Committee finishes voting on the last Title of the bill.

Finally, the Reorganization Plan part of the reform package should be approved by the full House Government Operations Committee tomorrow morning.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 18, 1978

Hamilton Jordan
Tim Kraft
Frank Moore
Anne Wexler
Joe Aragon
Landon Butler
Jim Gammill
Dick Moe
Jerry Rafshoon
Phil Wise
Betty Rainwater

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

DEMOCRATIC

NATIONAL COMMITTEE 1625 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 797-5900

John C. White
Chairman

MEMORANDUM
July 14, 1978

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER
THROUGH: RICK HUTCHESON
FROM: JOHN C. WHITE *John C. White*
RE: WEEKLY STATUS REPORT ON DNC OPERATIONS

TARGETING AND VOTER REGISTRATION MEETING

A comprehensive targeting and voter registration meeting is scheduled for next Monday, July 17, 1978. High level labor leaders and other constituent groups will be present.

CANDIDATE CONTACT AND ASSISTANCE

Information and assistance continues to be provided to Democratic candidates.

All congressional races are monitored and assessed toward the November election.

MID-TERM CONFERENCE (National Party Conference)

Final budget has been prepared for consideration.

The questionnaires we mailed with regard to formulating a program and agenda for the National Party Conference are being returned by Democratic Senators, Congressmen and others, and are being counted and evaluated.

ISSUES TASK FORCE

The Issues Task force completed mailing the fact sheet on the Steiger Amendment and enclosures to DNC members, state party headquarters, black political leaders and non-incumbent Democratic candidates.

The press conference on the Amendment was recorded by the DNC Radio Room and distributed to 855 radio station in 22 states.

A letter urging Congress to concentrate on the energy bill was mailed to the Congressional Delegation. The letter was accompanied by select letters and editorials from newspapers and magazines throughout the United States.

3633

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 18, 1978

Jody Powell
Jerry Rafshoon

Jim McIntyre

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information. The signed original has been given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Linder

CONTROL OF YEAR-END FUNDING




EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JUN 30 1978

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jim McIntyre 

SUBJECT: Control of Year-end Funding

At this time last year, you sent a memorandum to the Heads of Departments and Agencies instructing them to avoid year-end buying. We agree with Bob Strauss's recommendation that this instruction be sent out again this year. We have prepared a memorandum that refines last year's guidelines and also cautions the agencies not to accelerate outlays just to avoid the outlay shortfalls that are a result of poor estimates. In addition to its other virtues, this instruction is also consistent with your efforts to contain inflation by reducing unnecessary spending.

Recommendation

That you sign the attached memorandum.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

As I did at the end of last fiscal year, I again ask you to help me make sure we continue to use funds wisely. Prevention of unneeded or unwise Federal Government spending is more important than ever in this time of high inflation. Please, therefore, tell your staff not to spend or obligate funds for the sole or even primary purpose of keeping them from lapsing.

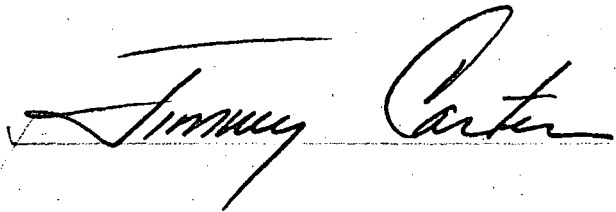
Nor should they speed up spending to avoid a shortfall that would occur solely, or even primarily, because earlier outlay estimates were too optimistic. Funds should be used only for clear and desirable program purposes.

Please issue instructions assuring that:

- obligations for the fourth quarter of the fiscal year are no higher than for the third quarter, except where seasonal requirements, essential program objectives, or procurement lead-times justify a higher level, or where more money is needed to restore program slippages to approved levels;
- orders for supplies, materials, and equipment are no more than needed to meet approved program needs;
- purchases are managed so that inventories do not exceed optimal levels;
- contracts for goods or services (for delivery extending into the next fiscal year) are let only when doing so will result in lower cost to the Government; and

- no purchases are made to compensate for what otherwise would be an outlay shortfall. Resist the temptation to buy and pay for lower priority items to make up for over-optimistic outlay estimates.

I count on your full cooperation and personal attention to save the taxpayers as much money as possible.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/18/78

Zbig Brzezinski

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Phil Wise
Fran Voorde

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| | | FOR STAFFING |
| | | FOR INFORMATION |
| | / | FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX |
| | / | LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY |
| | | IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND |
| | | NO DEADLINE |
| | | LAST DAY FOR ACTION - |

ACTION
FYI

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| | | PRESS |
| | | RAFSHOON |
| | | SCHNEIDERS |
| | / | VOORDE |
| | | WARREN |
| | / | WISE |

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/18/78

Mr. President:

Hamilton and Jody agree
with this proposal.

Phil

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL
DATE: July 12, 1978
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
VIA: PHIL WISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GDS

MEETING:

Drop by a People's Republic of China theatrical troupe tour of the White House.

DATE:

July 20, 1978, at 2:15 p.m.

PURPOSE:

- 1) To greet the first major theatrical delegation to tour the United States in several years.
- 2) To signal to Peking the President's personal commitment to improved Sino-American relations.
- 3) To reciprocate the courteous receptions of the recent Brzezinski and Press missions to Peking.

FORMAT:

- The Rose Garden
- 15 minutes
- Chinese theatrical troupe (nearly 150 persons) plus select personnel from PRC Liaison Office and U.S. personnel accompanying the delegation. (List of participants is at Tab A.)

CABINET
PARTICIPATION:

Secretary Cyrus Vance
Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski
Mr. John Reinhardt

SPEECH
MATERIAL:

Talking Points welcoming the delegation plus a few remarks on the importance of cultural exchanges between China and the United States and on the warm feelings which exist between the Chinese and American people.

PRESS
COVERAGE:

Meeting to be announced.
Photo opportunity.
Full press, including coverage of President's remarks.

STAFF:

Zbigniew Brzezinski

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GDS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Jan 9/25/90

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

RECOMMEND:

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Cyrus Vance
John Reinhardt

OPPOSED:

None.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION:

This will mark your third contact between you and personnel of the People's Republic of China. You met with Ambassador Huang Chen, Chief of the Liaison Office, in February, 1977, and you dropped by the farewell luncheon which the Vice President gave for the Ambassador in November, 1977. The new head of the PRC Liaison Office, Ch'ai Tse-min, may have arrived by July 20.

BACKGROUND:

The Chinese theatrical troupe is touring the U.S., with stops in New York, Washington, Minneapolis, and Berkeley. It received quite favorable reviews in New York. Its program leans heavily in the direction of traditional Chinese opera, dance, and music, with only a dash of revolutionary themes.

The program has been designed to appeal to the U.S. audience, and contains no provocative references to Taiwan.

The troupe signifies a major Chinese effort to reach the American public. Some of its performances will be televised. It is being hosted in the U.S. by the National Committee on U.S. China Relations, an organization designated by the U.S. Government to facilitate cultural and sports exchanges with the PRC.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~